4: Horton E-4 (no date) 1948
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related to eponymous plants and animals. Sib ancestors are embodied in large ceremonial trumpets called "kuhikí," which women are forbidden to see upon pain of lifelong unhappiness. Certain sibs are "related," but the nature of the relationship has not been specified. The sibs are grouped in exogamous moieties: a red moiety of 15 sibs and a white moiety of 19 sibs. A list of the sib names is given by Kruse (1934). In *Mundurucú* tradition these sibs were once warring tribes; their pacification and organization into the present tribal society is attributed to the culture hero.

Polygyny is practiced by men of rank. Younger wives are sometimes solicited voluntarily by the elder wife. Martius reports the levirate. He also states that if a marriageable girl's father dies, and she finds no suitable husband, her mother's brother is obliged to marry her. It is perhaps corroborative evidence of this type of marriage that in the kinship terms given in Steinen's vocabulary, a woman addresses her brother and son-in-law by the same term (tapo).

Patrilocal residence is indicated by Martius' report (1867) that a woman guilty of adultery may be expelled from the house and return to her own family. According to Hartt (1885), each family's section of the communal house is identified by the family's color painted on the post of the partition. No further information about this color symbolism is given.

Each communal house is said to have its house chief and its shaman. Above house chiefs and shamans in rank are war chiefs, chiefs of subtribes (regional groups or moieties?), and a chief shaman. Banna (1892) is the only writer who mentions a paramount tribal chief. Farabee (1917 a) makes an obscure reference to differences in class between war chiefs and "civil" chiefs (house chiefs?). He also states that the sons and daughters of war chiefs intermarry.

MILITARY ORGANIZATION AND WARFARE

The central military institution was the group of warriors living in the men's house. This house and the village were constantly guarded by a patrol whose leader gave signals by means of a trumpet or flute. When a war expedition was being planned, a pledge stick was passed among the warriors by the war chief. A warrior pledged himself to join the expedition by cutting a notch in the stick. When the war party got under way, absolute authority was vested in its leader.

War was generally waged during the summer dry season. Whenever feasible, each warrior was accompanied by his wife or sister, who carried his equipment, prepared food, strung hammocks, aided him if he were wounded, and assisted in the preliminary preparation of trophy heads. The women, according to most authors, took no part in the actual fighting.

[Martius (source No. 2) says this occurred beforehand, in camp time -- Adapter]

628 and house leaders and other older men of the village had the greatest influence in these matters for it would have been highly important of the "children" (as anybody under the age of about 30 or 40 was called by the older men) to contest the wishes of those who were collectively referred to as "the old men."

629 The house leader was simply the oldest man of the house and generally the husband of the oldest female, who occupied the respected position of elder sister, mother, and maternal aunt to the other women of the house. He was a man who married into the village, or at least the house, from outside and his position was the result of circumstances rather than selection or heredity. In our discussion of the household organization and economy, it became clear that the house leader did little to direct the activity of the women. His sons-in-law treated him with the respect due an older man and a father-in-law, but, since most of their activity was carried out in the larger unit of the village, he exerted little authority over them.

576 571 The leadership of collective enterprises was generally invested in the person who initiated the activity and not in the chief. If a man wanted to organize a tiahó fishing trip, he notified the other men in the village of his desire and a date and place was set. The men then went out to the garden of the man who initiated the party and helped him to pull up the tiahó roots. Direction was nominally in his hands and if many people took part, he would savvy con-

also gather large quantities of sclerosperella, balata-rubber and Brazil beans, in the forests. The traders on their arrival at the Campinas [the coastal-oriented region inhabited by the main body of Mundurucu beyond the cataracts] hope first to distribute their wares--cheap cotton cloths, iron hatchets, cutlery, small wares, and cachaça--amongst the minor chiefs, and then wait three or four months for repayment in produce". [1963, pp. 245-246]

When rubber became the major product of demand, the same pattern of trade was perpetuated among the Mundurucu. All of the rubber collected was turned over to the chief, who alone negotiated directly with the trader. The remuneration given for the rubber was, insofar as could be ascertained through contemporary informants, equitably distributed to each man in proportion to the rubber he had produced. But since chiefs were commonly more prosperous than other men, it can be assumed that they did not suffer in their role of middleman. The share taken by the chief, however, was never so great as to result in truly significant wealth differences. In fact, the trader usually managed to keep the Indians in debt, and this debt was charged against the chief as the representative of the village. Smeaton, who visited the Mundurucu in 1875, published a bill presented to the chief [Smeaton, p. 134]. If this bill is typical, the Indians' indebtedness was frequently very heavy. These debts were used to force the chief to extract greater production from his followers.

As the Mundurucu depended increasingly upon trade, the chief became more subordinate economically to the trader, who manipulated him accordingly. The trader eventually was able to appoint "chiefs" to carry on the trade. An appointed chief was usually known as the cacique, or "captain", as distinguished from the hereditary village chief, who was called principal or tuchaua. By using the "captains" as local trade representatives, the traders were able to maintain strong control over the villages. At the same time, by robbing the hereditary chiefs of their trade function, they destroyed the entire structure of leadership. In time, the cacique displaced the hereditary chief almost entirely. To increase the prestige of the trader-appointed chief, the trader often took the principal on his annual trip to buy supplies in Belém, where the chief's position was reinforced by the governor or some other official.

The Mundurucu dependency upon trade at first evidently increased the prestige authority of the hereditary chief, for the villagers relied upon him to promote and secure their best interests in trading activities. The appointment of caciques undermined the native chief, and inevitably increased the trader's control over the village. The people became confused, however, as to whether the cacique or the principal should be regarded as "chief". All feelings toward and suspicion of the appointed chiefs began to develop, for the Indians were always aware of, although powerless to cope with, the many practices of the traders, and they usually accepted the cacique a share of the blame. Upon the latter fell the onerous task of goading the people to harder work in the rubber economy. Since most Mundurucu do not even today consider rubber collecting a congenial occupation, the role of the cacique must have been little to endear him popularity. During the field research among the Mundurucu, the young, bilingual trader-appointed "chief" of the village of Jatobá was in danger of losing his life. Eighteen of the traders, whom the "chief" represented, was carried upon this young man and threatened his position so greatly that he was on the verge of flight".

In other words, as will be described subsequently, individual Mundurucu Indians have tended increasingly to deal with the trader directly rather than through the "chief". For this reason, village political organization has been effectively shattered.

The trader-appointed Mundurucu "chief", unlike his Northwestern Algonkian counterpart, occupied trade relations between a group of followers and the

8: Murphy & Steward E-5 (1952-1953) 1956
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whites. After individual trading had become strongly established among the natives of the Mundurucú, however, "chiefs" were chosen by the Indian Agent and by missionaries in order to control the general behavior of the Indians, and not specifically for commercial purposes. This more nearly approximates the modern Portuguese situation, although it was reached through a different sequence of functional roles and from a different aboriginal base. In both cases, the Indians themselves were very conscious that these men were not genuine chiefs in terms of aboriginal leadership patterns, and both groups apparently suspected that the white-recognized chief was promoting the interests of the white men rather than those of his own people. The new leadership patterns never became fully established. While these patterns were functional in terms of white-Indian relations, they were dysfunctional in terms of the native socio-cultural structure.

Among the Mundurucú, therefore, the integrity of the local socio-political groups was, in part, temporarily maintained by a change in the functional role of the chieftain. But the changed pattern of leadership eventually became dysfunctional resulted in part from the ecological adaptations necessary to rubber collection. These adaptations, however, did far more than contribute to the disintegration of political controls. They undercut the very economic basis of village life.

Hevea brasiliensis, the native and most common species of rubber tree, grows wild throughout the upper waters of the Amazon. It can be exploited only during the dry season, and, in the upper Tapajós River valley, the maximum length of the gathering season is from May to early December, approximately seven months. Since these trees are scattered throughout the low lands near the watercourses, they are reached by circuitous paths cut through the undergrowth. The spacing of the trees and the work involved in rubber collection generally limit the number of trees tapped daily by one man to one hundred and fifty or less. Some collectors improve their yield per tree by maintaining two or three separate avenues which they visit only every second or third day. The distribution of rubber trees is such that each person given access to trees within an area of about three to five square miles. The actual size of this territory depends, of course, upon the density of the rubber trees. In some sections of the Amazon drainage wild rubber is more abundant than are others. One may travel ten to twenty miles on reaches of river where rubber is sparse without passing a single habitation, but, where rubber is more plentiful, one encounters houses at intervals of a mile or even a half-mile.

The rubber tapper must work in the process of evasion almost daily, and therefore must live near them. Since each tapper exploits a considerable tract of land, the physical remoteness from neighboring tappers is a matter of necessity. Thus, on the Tapajós River, which has a population of about 3,000 excluding the Mundurucú, there are only two Brazilian villages of any consequence. One of these has a population of about 700, and the other has only 150 people. The other settlements are merely isolate consisting of a trading post and from ten to seven houses. The majority of the population live in isolated houses on the river banks.

The exploitation of wild rubber is a solitary, individual occupation in that the tapping of the trees, the subsequent collection of the latex, and the final coagulation process are one-man jobs. The last phase, carried out at the end of the day, consists of solidifying the latex over a smoky fire. The simplicity and the daily time-schedule of the entire rubber process is such that no one can profitably leave off collection to specialize only in tapping or collection or coagulation. For similar reasons, two men do not work in the same groups. However unprofitable, it would not be a practicable means of increasing production.

This brief account of how wild rubber is exploited is necessary to an understanding of changes in Mundurucú society. In the earlier contact period, the